

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00
INRE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W
-----171849Z 044579 /41
P R 171751Z MAY 77
FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3288
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION USNATO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 3844

EXDIS/SALT

EO 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJ: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF MAY 17, 1977 (SALT
TWO 1177)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER
SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF MAY 17, 1977.

I

WE HAVE BEEN GIVING THOUGHT TO THE CONSIDERATIONS YOU
SET FORTH EARLIER, INCLUDING THOSE CONTAINED IN THE U.S.
DELEGATION'S STATEMENT AT THE MAY 13, 1977 MEETING.

IN THAT CONNECTION, I WOULD LIKE TO SAY THE FOLLOWING.

AS YOU KNOW, DURING THE LAST TWO YEARS THE USSR AND
U.S. DELEGATIONS HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS TOWARD
ACHIEVING A NEW AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC
OFFENSIVE ARMS. MANY PROBLEMS OF IMPORTANCE IN TERMS OF
THE AGREEMENT HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED AND RESOLVED. THIS IS
REFLECTED IN THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT AS OF NOVEMBER 20, 1976.

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AT THE SAME TIME, THERE ALSO REMAIN QUESTIONS WHICH
HAVE NOT YET BEEN RESOLVED. THE APRIL 26, 1977 UNDER-
STANDING BETWEEN OUR GOVERNMENTS PROVIDES THAT THE DELE-
GATIONS WILL CONTINUE DISCUSSING THOSE QUESTIONS INVOLVED
IN WORKING OUT THE TEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, WHICH HAVE
BEEN CONSIDERED AT DELEGATION LEVEL, BUT WHICH HAVE RE-
MAINED UNAGREED IN THE COURSE OF PREVIOUS NEGOTIATIONS.

THESE QUESTIONS DISCUSSED BY THE DELEGATIONS MUST BE
RESOLVED INDEPENDENTLY OF THE OTHER QUESTIONS INVOLVED IN
THE AGREEMENT.

THE USSR DELEGATION PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT
AMONG THE BASIC ISSUES WHICH MUST BE DISCUSSED AND RESOLVED
AT DELEGATION LEVEL ARE NON-TRANSFER OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE
ARMS TO OTHER STATES (ARTICLE XIII), NON-CIRCUMVENTION OF
THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT, THROUGH THIRD STATES OR IN
ANY OTHER MANNER (ARTICLE XII), AS WELL AS SUCH ISSUES AS THE
DEFINITIONS OF ICBM LAUNCHERS, SLBM LAUNCHERS AND HEAVY BOMBERS
(ARTICLE II, PARAS. 1, 2 AND 3), DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT MEASURES
(ARTICLE XVI, PAR 3) AND THE RELEVANT FUNCTIONS OF THE STANDING
CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION (ARTICLE XVII, PAR 2).

IN THE CONTEXT OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT, AN
IMPORTANT PLACE IS ALSO HELD BY QUESTIONS CONCERNING LIMITA-
TIONS ON SYSTEMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS. WE ARE IN FAVOR OF
CONTINUING THE DISCUSSION OF THESE QUESTIONS WITH THE AIM OF
WORKING OUT MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE WORDING, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT,
OF COURSE, WHAT HAS BEEN DONE AND, ABOVE ALL, THE RELEVANT
AGREED PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE USSR DELEGATION HAS BEEN INSTRUCTED
TO STATE THAT IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON THOSE PROVISIONS OF THE
AGREEMENT WHICH CONCERN ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS,
AS WELL AS LAUNCHERS OF SUCH MISSILES, THE SOVIET SIDE'S READI-
NESS TO COUNT TOWARD THE NUMBER OF MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS
ALL MISSILES OF THOSE TYPES WHICH HAVE BEEN TESTED WITH SUCH
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REENTRY VEHICLES WAS AND REMAINS CONTINGENT UPON ACHIEVING
MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS WITH REGARD TO CRUISE MISSILES,
AS WELL AS THE OTHER UNAGREED QUESTIONS UNDER DISCUSSION AT
OTHER LEVELS.

WE ARE FACED WITH THE TASK OF SPECIFIC CONSIDERATION OF
THE QUESTIONS ASSIGNED TO THE DELEGATIONS, WITH THE AIM OF
WORKING OUT APPROPRIATE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE FORMULATIONS FOR
INCLUSION IN THE DRAFT TEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, WHICH WILL
BE BASED ON THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING AND THE RESULTS
OF SUBSEQUENT SOVIET-U.S. NEGOTIATIONS.

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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 3844

EXDIS/SALT

II

MR. AMBASSADOR,

AT THE LAST MEETING THE USSR DELEGATION SET FORTH THE
SOVIET SIDE'S APPROACH TO RESOLVING THE QUESTION OF NON-
TRANSFER OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

TODAY WE WOULD LIKE ONCE AGAIN TO DRAW THE U.S. SIDE'S
ATTENTION TO THE QUESTION OF NON-CIRCUMVENTION.

IN THE COURSE OF PREVIOUS NEGOTIATIONS THE SOVIET UNION
TABLED A SPECIFIC PROPOSAL ON THIS SCORE. IT PROVIDES THAT
IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE VIABILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE
NEW AGREEMENT, EACH SIDE WOULD UNDERTAKE NOT TO TAKE ACTIONS
WHICH COULD LEAD TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT BEING
WEAKENED OR CIRCUMVENTED THROUGH A THIRD STATE OR THIRD
STATES, OR IN ANY OTHER MANNER.

AS IS TRUE OF NON-TRANSFER, NON-CIRCUMVENTION OF THE
AGREEMENT IS A MAJOR QUESTION. TO THE SOVIET UNION THE NEED
TO RESOLVE IT IS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE. EACH WORD IN OUR
PROPOSALS ON NON-CIRCUMVENTION, AS WELL AS ON NON-TRANSFER,
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HAS BEEN WEIGHED AND IS MEANINGFUL; THESE PROPOSALS HIGHLIGHT
THE DIRECTION OF THE POLICY OF OUR STATES IN THE FIELD OF
STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS AND THE FACT THAT IT IS CONSISTENT
AND LOOKS TO THE FUTURE. AND THIS IS UNDERSTANDABLE.

THE NEW AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT IS CALLED UPON TO
BECOME AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO LIMITING STRATEGIC

OFFENSIVE ARMS AND FURTHER CURBING THE RACE IN THSE ARMS;
THIS IS IN THE INTERESTS OF THE USSR AND THE U.S., AS WELL
AS INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AS A WHOLE. IT IS QUITE OBVIOUS
THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT, CALLED UPON TO CONTRIBUTE TO
STRENGTHENING WORLD PEACE AND REDUCING THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR
WAR, MUST CONTAIN CLEAR AND EXHAUSTIVE PROVISIONS WHICH
WOULD RECORD THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE SIDES NOT TO TAKE ACTIONS
AIMED AT CIRCUMVENTING OR WEAKENING THE LIMITATIONS BEING
ESTABLISHED.

SUCH AN OBLIGATION WOULD REFLECT THE CLEARLY EXPRESSED
INTENTION OF THE SIDES STRICTLY TO COMPLY WITH ALL THE PRO-
VISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT AND THEIR DETERMINATION NOT TO
ALLOW THESE PROVISIONS TO BE WEAKENED, OR THE EFFECTIVENESS
AND STABILITY OF THE AGREEMENT TO BE DIMINISHED.
IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT THAT THE PROVISION ON NON-CIRCUMVEN-
TION, BEING FULLY CONSISTENT WITH THE NORMS OF CURRENT INTER-
NATIONAL LAW, WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO ENHANCING TRUST BETWEEN OUR
STATES. THE OBLIGATION OF THE SIDES ON THIS SCORE WOULD
PROVIDE CONDITIONS FOR THE NORMAL FUNCTIONING OF THE AGREEMENT
WHICH IS BEING PREPARED, AS WELL AS FOR WORKING OUT FURTHER
MORE FAR-REACHING MEASURES IN THE FIELD OF LIMITING STRATEGIC
OFFENSIVE ARMS.

THE NON-CIRCUMVENTION AND NON-TRANSFER OBLIGATIONS ARE
OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE IN THE SEARCH FOR MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE
SOLUTIONS AT DELEGATION LEVEL.

IF WAYS WERE LEFT UNBLOCKED TO BUILD UP STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE
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ARMS BY CIRCUMVENTING THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT BEING
WORKED OUT, THROUGH A THIRD STATE OR THIRD STATES OR IN ANY
OTHER MANNER, THIS COULD LEAD TO CHANGES IN THE STRATEGIC
SITUATION OF A KIND THAT WOULD IN THE END ERODE THE VERY BASIS
FOR THE LIMITATIONS BEING ESTABLISHED UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT.
OF COURSE, SUCH A DEVELOPMENT WOULD BE CONTRARY TO THE INTERESTS
OF NOT ONLY THE USSR AND THE U.S., BUT OF OTHER STATES AS WELL,
PARTICULARLY THOSE WHICH MIGHT BECOME INVOLVED IN THIS.

AS YOU KNOW, THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING, IIN THE PRINCI-
PAL PARAMETERS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF STRA-
TEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, IRECORDED THEREIN, HAS CONSOLIDATED A
MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BALANCE OF THE INTERESTS OF THE SIDES IN
THIS AREA. ANY ACTIONS THAT WOULD LEAD TO UPSETTING THIS
BALANCE WOULD MEAN UNDERMINING THE AGREED PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY
AND EQUAL SECURITY AND CIRCUMVENTING THE AGREEMENT AS A WHOLE.

I WOULD LIKE TO NOTE THAT LINKING THE NON-CIRCUMVENTION
QUESTION TO OTHER ASPECTS OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT IS

UNFOUNDED. TO DRAW OUT DISCUSSION AND RESOLUTION OF THIS QUESTION WOULD NOT CONTRIBUTE TO CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRESS IN OUR WORK AS A WHOLE.

WE ARE FOR BEGINNING, WITHOUT DELAY, THE DISCUSSION OF CORRESPONDING FORMULATIONS FOR INCLUSION IN THE TEXT OF THE JOINT DRAFT OF THE AGREEMENT. WE LOOK FORWARD TO LEARNING YOUR CONSIDERATIONS ON THIS MATTER. WARNKE

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